Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 061932 ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S-DKEOGH:LFS
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O 101640Z MAR 78 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
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WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: RH, NG

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: APPROACH TO NIGERIA

REF: STATE 53342

- 1. HEREWITH IS AIDE MEMOIRE VERSION OF TALKING POINTS, WHICH WE AND BRITISH AGREE MAY BE PASSED TO NIGERIANS, IF YOU BELIEVE TO BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY, IN VIEW OF SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT ON RHODESIA (SEPTEL).
- 2. BEGIN TEXT:
- -- WE CONTINUE TO SHARE WITH YOU AS THE PRIMARY SECRET

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GOAL IN RHODESIA A GENUINE TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY TO THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION THROUGH A PROCESS WHICH GUARANTEES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN LEADERS IN CONDITIONS WHICH ARE FAIR AND IMPARTIAL. THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AAP SEEM TO PROVIDE THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS.

- DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PF, AND ITS CONTINUED INSISTENCE ON A DOMINANT ROLE FOR ITSELF DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE TRANSITION PERIOD HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT

FACTORS IN KEEPING US FROM MOVING AHEAD WITH THE AAP

- -- WE DO NOT THINK THAT FINAL INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS ASSURED: INDEED OUR REACTION HAS BEEN ONE OF HEALTHY SKEPTICISM. DESPITE STRONG POLITICAL FORCES IN OUR OWN COUNTRIES, WE HAVE NOT ACCEPTED THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT.
- -- AT THE SAME TIME, FRANKLY, DEVELOPMENTS IN SALISBURY HAVE CREATED A SITUATION WHICH WE CANNOT IGNORE. THE APPARENT ACCEPTANCE BY SMITH OF ONE-MAN-ONE VOTE HAS GIVEN MANY PEOPLE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE HAS AT LAST ACCEPTED A GENUINE TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY TO THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION.
- -- WE ARE TELLING THE INTERNALLY-BASED NATIONALISTS
 OF OUR SERIOUS CONCERN THAT THE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED
 IN SALISBURY WILL NOT PRODUCE A GENUINE TRANSFER OF
 POWER AND COULD NOT THEREFORE BE COUNTED ON TO END
 THE WAR OR WIN INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE. WE ARE
 ALSO MAKING CLEAR TO THEM OUR DESIRE TO ACHIEVE A
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SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD INCLUDE ALL THE PARTIES.

- -- WE RECOGNIZE THAT IN FACT THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT IS A LONG WAY FROM ACHIEVING A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER. WE DO NOT KNOW THE DETAILS OF HOW THE AGREEMENT WILL BE MADE TO WORK. WHATEVER COMES OUT, HOWEVER, WE WILL COMPARE AGAINST THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PLAN; THE ESSENTIAL TEST WILL BE WHETHER THERE IS A RELINQUISHMENT OF POWER BY SMITH AND A RAPID TRANSITION TO GENUINE MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE.
- -- WE CONTINUE TO BE CONCERNED THAT SINCE THE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED IN SALISBURY WILL NOT PRODUCE A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER, IT COULD NOT END THE WAR OR WIN INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE. WE ALSO RETAIN OUR DESIRE TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD INCLUDE ALL THE PARTIES.
- -- WE WANT TO GET YOUR VIEWS ON HOW TO PROCEED IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE PF HAS NOT AGREED TO OUR MINIMUM ESSENTIALS AND SITHOLE, MUZOREWA, AND SMITH HAVE

REACHED AGREEMENT IN SALISBURY. THIS OUTCOME CREATES PROBLEMS FOR ALL OF US.

-- ANOTHER MEETING WITH THE PF THAT ONLY ENDS IN DISAGREEMENT OVER THE POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

AND OVER CONTROL OF THE POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES WOULD BE HARMFUL TO OUR CAUSE. IT WOULD STRENGTHEN SMITH'S HAND AND LEAVE US FURTHER FROM A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION THAN EVER, AS WELL AS SUBJECT US TO A GREAT DEAL OF CRITICISM WHICH WOULD TIE OUR HANDS.

-- MOREOVER, THE GRATUITOUS ATTACK ON OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS IN THE PF STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 25 SECRET

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RAISES QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER THE PF IS INTERESTED IN SUCH TALKS, AND COMPLICATES OUR POLITICAL PROBLEM EVEN FURTHER.

-- WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AAP AND WE HAVE BEEN DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE OF YOUR SUPPORT FOR OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE OUR MUTUAL GOAL, AN INDEPENDENT MAJORITY-RULED ZIMBABWE. WE LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING TO HAVE YOUR HELP AND UNDERSTANDING AS WE WORK TOWARDS THAT GOAL IN THE CIRITICAL DAYS AHEAD. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 jan 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: TEXT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, AIDE MEMOIRE, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 10 mar 1978 Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE061932
Document Source: Core

Document Unique ID: 00 Drafter: DKEOGH:LFS Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

Expiration:

Film Number: P840176-1386, N780003-0385

Format: TEL From: STATE

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path:

ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780381/aaaacqqx.tel

Line Count: 147 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History: Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

Message ID: 0e95acc9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc Office: ORIGIN NODS

Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS

Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: SECRET Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS Reference: 78 STATE 53342

Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags:

Review Date: 29 apr 2005 **Review Event:** Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:**

Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 3369845 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: RHODESIA: APPROACH TO NIGERIA TAGS: PDEV, RH, ZI, NG
To: LAGOS USUN NEW YORK MULTIPLE

Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0e95acc9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014